

George Bernard Shaw Writes Of The Folly Of The Ulsterites

THEY COULD
SUCCEED IN
REBELLION
IF UNITED

This is the second in a series of three articles written for The Times by George Bernard Shaw on the problems of Ireland. The third article will be printed next Sunday.

It is in the power of the English parliament to re-establish the Irish national parliament in Dublin and place Ulster in the position of having either to accept the government of that parliament or undertake a rebellion which would be a rebellion against England no less than against Ireland. This does not trouble Ulster; she is fully as rebellious as any other province. What is more, she could carry such a rebellion through if only her front were united. The Speaker's Writ would not run in Antrim if Antrim were solid on the point of treating it as a scrap of paper.

Civilian's Coercion Ulster.
All the rest of Ireland could not coerce a united Ulster; and to repeat the original sin that delivered Ireland into England's hands by calling in English soldiers to coerce Irishmen would be morally impossible. There is quite as much fight in Ulster as in Sinn Féin. It does not want to die for Ireland; on the contrary, it believes that all the people who die for Ireland go straight to hell; but it wants to send them there and have the island all to itself. No surrender is burnt so deep into its brain that it still chalks that dogged phrase up on the walls as if it were only yesterday that King William's ships burst the boom and the hosts of King James scattered and left Harry starving, but victorious.

Still Repeat Doggerel.
Ulster children still repeat the doggerel, "Sister slaughter, sister slaughter," and the adults are as determined as ever that "the Protestant boys shall carry the drum." As a Protestant myself (and a little of a convert), I am highly susceptible to the spirit that these cries express; and though I know that King William is as dead as Bloody Mary, and that if it should turn out rather unexpected-

Some Hot Shots From G. B. S. At Ulster

If it should turn out rather unexpectedly that the old Ulster brimstone hell actually exists, all the thoroughgoing Protestants of Ulster will most assuredly spend eternity in it for usurping the divine judgment seat. . . .

Sir John Lonsdale . . . is obsessed with an illusion as gross as the megalomaniac illusions of Sinn Féin, and so is his meanest laborer. . . .

In opposition to the Sinn Féin cry of fiscal autonomy, Ulster raises the cry of fiscal unity: It is just as inconsiderate a folly as the other. . . .

Ulster's incredulity, which it usually calls its faith, cannot keep labor and socialism out of an Irish parliament.

by that the old Ulster brimstone hell actually exists, all the thoroughgoing Protestants of Ulster will most assuredly spend eternity in it for usurping the divine judgment seat, yet if it comes to a fight between the north and south, I will back Ulster to at least deadlock any military force that Catholic Ireland can bring against her.

I believe that a united Ulster could hold the Protestant counties against a Dublin parliament and form an independent state like the little republic of Andorra. It could not, of course, force Ulster members on the English parliament. It could not do the thing by halves; it would have to cut the London painter as completely as the Dublin one. But it could absolutely ignore and boycott College Green, and beat Home Rule by Homer Rule, if I may put it that way. And in its consciousness of this lies the strength of its, "We won't have it," and the Cromwellian force of its rendering of "O God, Our Help in Ages Past."

"It Must Be Overcome."
But there is the if to be got over. If Ulster were united. Now Sir John Lonsdale has no misgivings on that score. He has told us that on this question he and his poorest laborer will stand shoulder to shoulder to the death. He has no provision of what very cold shoulders they would be when the situation began to develop.

For Sir John Lonsdale, speaking authentically with the voice of Protestant Ulster, never was more mistaken in his life than he is about the permanence of that solidarity of his with his poorest laborer. He is obsessed with an illusion as gross as the megalomaniac illusions of Sinn Féin, and so is his meanest laborer, hence their present solidarity. They have a penny-dreadful vision of an Irish parliament establishing the Inquisition, setting up the stakes of



GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

Smithfield, massacring the Protestant infants, condemning all the maids of Ulster to the doom of Maria Monk, inviting the Pope to transfer the Vatican to Slough, exempting the priests from the jurisdiction of civil courts, making mixed marriages illegal, reviving the penal laws with the boot on the other leg, and crushing the shipyards of Belfast by huge import duties on steel, raw materials, and every thing English, whilst dispensing unheard of bounties to farmers, grafters, dairymen, and convent workshops.

World Solidity Protest.
Now no doubt if an Irish parliament behaved in this insane manner, Ulster would be solid against it. So would the rest of Ireland. That is why the Irish parliament will not behave so even if it wants to. For a long time it will be mortally afraid to touch the religious question at all, but if at last it is driven to do so by the abuses of the irresponsible power and

wealth of the Catholic church have produced (it is really much worse than the Established Church of England just because it is not state established and state regulated, as every nation's church ought to be, for it is not even an Irish national church), its operations would be exactly like those of all the other religious sects in Europe; that is, they would consist of curtailments of the power of the clergy, reduction of fees for masses and for births, death, and marriage services, inspection and regulation of schools and convent workshops, and an interference with the multiplication of religious houses which may go to the length even of suppression.

Extremely Unhistorical.
The notion that a democratically constituted modern secular authority ever has or ever will use its power to increase the power of its rival, the church, or even refrain for long from disabling

How Shaw Shows Where Lie His Sympathies

I will back Ulster to at least deadlock any military force that Catholic Ireland can bring against her.

There is as much fight in Ulster as in Sinn Féin. Ulster may not love the Dark Rosaleen; but it hates the Virgin Mary.

I believe that a united Ulster could hold the Protestant counties against a Dublin parliament and form an independent state like the little republic of Andorra.

It (Ulster) could absolutely ignore and boycott College Green and beat Home Rule by Homer Rule. . . .

There is not going to be any separation. . . . There is going to be much more union than there ever was before.

If not actually plundering the church, is, to say the least, extremely unhistorical. As to the shipbuilding industry, if Belfast ever loses it, it will be because the great gentries will have flown to the Atlantic coast, which, when St. George's channel, and the Straits of Dover are tunneled and bridged by aeroplanes, will be the extreme west coast of the Eurasian continent. The magnificent natural harbours will tempt shipbuilding capital from all over the world, beginning, let us hope for the honor of Protestant enterprises, with Belfast. Harland and Wolff, if they are not hopelessly extinct voices, must have already surveyed all the great Atlantic coast bays, from Black-sod and Killarney to Kimmure and Bantry, with a view to these imminent possibilities.

Cry of Fiscal Unity.
In opposition to the Sinn Féin cry of fiscal autonomy, Ulster raises the cry of fiscal unity. It is just as inconsiderate a folly as the other; there can be neither fiscal unity nor fiscal autonomy between Ireland and Britain. What both parties are thinking about is the old tariff wars between England and Ireland, put a stop to by Adam Smith and William Pitt. Ireland's imagination is still in the XVIII century, when it is not in the XVII. The danger now is not that these wars will be revived by home rule, but that, home or no home rule, Irish industries may be involved in tariff wars between England and the great powers, in which the interests of Ireland will be as little considered as those of the Elizabethan Islands.

Ireland needs fiscal autonomy enough to keep herself out of these wars, and fiscal unity enough not to be kept out of anything, good or bad, going in other directions. Ulster should study the tariff reform movement in England a little before shouting her rash ultimatum.

Will Be Unimpaired.
But when Ulster comes to her senses on the tariff question, her solidarity will still be unimpaired; for here Sir John Lonsdale's interest is also that of his poorest laborer. All Ulster's power of ignoring the Irish and defying the English Parliament rests, as we have seen, on this solidarity; and it is clearly not

the fiscal question that will break the united front.

What will break it with ridiculous ease and suddenness is something that neither Ulster nor Sinn Féin foresee, because it is something that is hardly half a century old; to wit, socialism in Parliament. When Parnell began his agitation, the notion that men working for weekly wages could become cabinet ministers, that labor parties should not only exist in British Parliaments but hold office there, that Socialist leaders in office, even at the head of governments, should become too common throughout Europe to be worth mentioning; all this seems still as incredible and unnatural to the Ulster Protestant as the story of Noah's Ark or the adventure of Jonah seems plausible, and natural enough to be of the essence of religious truth.

Ulster's Incredulity.
But Ulster's incredulity, which it usually calls its faith, cannot keep labor and socialism out of an Irish parliament. Add at the first breath of socialism the solidarity of Ulster will vanish like the mirage it is. The

Ulster employers could say, no doubt: "We shall not put up an Ulster Protestant to contest a seat in this parliament of rebels; and our workmen will see that no Catholic does it; so there will be no election."

But what about a labor candidate, with his Fabian pamphlets and his labor manifestoes, and his Whitley representation in favor of management by joint committees of employers and workmen, and his eight hours day, and his minimum wage, and his denunciation of profiteering, and his skillful irritant touch on all the open sores: the continual nibbling at the piece work rate, sweating, the victimization, the unemployment, the slum death rates and rack rents and so forth, culminating in the glad news that the seat can be won for labor without a blow, as the employers are sulking against home rule and are allowing their "hands" a walk-over at the polls.

Would Break Down.

Is it not clear that the Ulster boycott of the Irish parliament would break down at the very first glimpse of the possibility of this, and that the

employers would rush to contest all the seats, and, if they won them, would be only too glad to combine in the Irish parliament with the Catholic farmers of the south to curb the pretensions of the industrial proletariat?

Thus Ulster's "We won't have it" turns out, the moment it is confronted with the realities of modern life instead of the grudges and bigotries of 1889, to be the idiotic of petulant. Without violating a single letter of Lloyd George's pledge that Ulster shall never be coerced, the Irish parliament will assimilate Belfast as easily as a whale assimilates a herring. The dream of passive resistance is as impracticable as that irresistible blow which the Sinn Féin volunteers think they can strike at the British empire.

Well, there is not going to be any separation. On the contrary, there is going to be much more union than ever there was before.

G. B. S.
(The third article in this series will be printed in The Sunday Times next Sunday.)

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SWIFT CONTROLS PACKING INDUSTRY IN NEW ENGLAND

BOSTON, Dec. 30.—It took just two days of sharp questioning and cross-examination by Francis J. Heney, counsel in the Federal Trade Commission's hearing on the packing industry situation here, to establish the fact that Swift & Co. control almost every slaughtering and rendering plant in the New England States, and also the hide market.

Armed with broad powers to investigate all conditions of the meat industry, the commission here brought out startling facts regarding combination methods, all tending to force the small retail dealer and independent rendering and slaughtering companies either to sell out or lease to the controlling element.

Under Swift Control.
It was shown that stores and plants throughout New England, camouflaged under various names, are directly under the control of the Swift interests.

The session of the investigation which closed yesterday will be resumed here in the near future, Heney announced, and there was promise of startling revelations in his carefully worded statement: "We have scratched only the surface."

Heney spoke with calm conviction, and throughout the hearing he caused astonishment by his knowledge of facts of which even the witnesses—most of them meat dealers and rendering company officials—were ignorant. Most of these facts will not cheer the big packing interests.

Subtle Intimidations.
Witnesses told of mysterious threats, subtle intimidations that freight delays would result from their refusal to listen to "reason," and of pools to control the trade and squeeze out the "little fellows."

It was shown that time after time independent plants fought against the combination, only to be overwhelmed or bought out in the end. Dealers in an effort to escape the influence of the controlling company often changed to other markets, which in nearly every case turned out to be a change only in so far as the location was concerned.

RAY BAKER NOT IN RACE.
Ray T. Baker, Director of the Mint, who has been mentioned for Senator from Nevada to succeed Senator Newlands, has announced that he is not a candidate. He says he feels he can give better service by remaining in his present post.



Keep The Home Fires Burning!

Whether that boy who is always in your mind is already in the trenches or doing the doubly hard duty of preparation in one of the training camps, send him the news of the old town and all the world every day—in The Washington Times.
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